

## TWENTY-THREE PLACE-NAME LEGENDS FROM ANTIQUE PROVINCE, PHILIPPINES

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### *Introduction*

During the last fifty years many studies have been done on Philippine folklore. However, it appears that no attempt has been made to study these oral folk narratives in terms of their function in the areas where they have been collected. Even the major works of scholars after World War II (cf. E. Arsenio Manuel 1955; 1957, Frances Lambrecht 1955a; 1960, Morice Vanoverberg 1955, Amador Daguio 1952) have not progressed beyond the collecting stage. Over thirty years ago, Bronislaw Malinowski (1926) called the attention of scholars to the significance of the sociological approach to folklore studies. He pointed out that the gathering of text is extremely important but without its sociological context "it remains lifeless." Taking clues from the lead which Malinowski provided, writers like W. R. Bascom (1953; 1954), Carpenter (1958), S. L. Richard Dorson (1959), Firth (1960a), Claude Levi-Strauss (1955; 1958b), Edmond Leach (1954), Mellville Jacobs (1959b), J. L. Fisher (1963), Stith Thompson (1953; 1961) and others have stressed the need for studying folklore in terms of its *functions* in the social life of the people among whom these narratives are found.

This paper is a preliminary attempt to study twenty-three place-name legends from Antique Province and to determine their possible uses and functions in the communities where these have been gathered. Central to our analysis, in this respect, will be on the significance of folklore in the naming of some towns and barrios in Antique province. By significance we mean the part which folklore plays in the logical social sentiments associated with place-naming.

The writer admits that this treatment is not the only valid approach to the study of folklore. There are many other ways of attacking the problem. The present method has been suggested by observations made among various groups of people with whom the

writer has lived and studied. These observations indicate that there are certain beliefs, practices, and customs which, though they appear meaningless or even ridiculous to many of us, upon closer investigation are seen to fulfill the most important function in the social life of the community—serving as means by which the people can logically present their fundamental concepts of life and systematically express the sentiments which they attach to these concepts.

With this hypothesis as a working tool, the writer wishes to examine these twenty-three folktales included above against the context of the questions which was raised by J. L. Fisher (1963: 261): "Is there a determinate relationship between folktales and social reality? If so, what aspects of social reality are related to folktale content, and how are they related — by exaggeration? by inversion? by direct reflection? How reliable are these relationships?"

Before proceeding, it need be stressed at the outset that the original version of these tales are problematic and irretrievably lost with the passing of time. The materials which we are dealing with now are simplified versions of the narratives and they may not represent the full context of the earlier tales. In fact, the social reality which brought about the telling of these stories cannot be reconstructed and our interpretations are based mainly on what the narrators<sup>1</sup> told us "had happened in the past." Moreover, the fact that these stories exist in the communities of Antique today and these are utilized to explain certain social phenomena which brought about certain important events, their significance in reconstructing the "folk history of the group" cannot be over emphasized.

Another factor which need be reckoned in this analysis is the persistence of the narratives. Some of the stories deal with life histories of the founding fathers. These early people are believed today to be the first inhabitants of the area. In other words, by studying these narratives within the context of present-day society and culture, it is possible to gain insights into the unrecorded folk history of the community, the norms and values of the people, the psychology of the group, and the continuity of local customs and traditions.

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<sup>1</sup>The legends included in this study are so widespread as to eliminate suspicion that they are "made-up" by the people to satisfy the investigator.

*The Setting**The province of Antique*

The province of Antique covers an area of 2,679.3 square kilometers of narrow mountain slopes, deep valleys and verdant hillsides stretching along the entire western coast of Panay Island. It has a population of 280,710 evenly distributed among the sixteen municipalities and three hundred seventy-four barrios.

The coastal plains of Antique are never broad at any point. Finger-like ridges and steep spurs descend to the coast from the interior mountain ranges that meander along the eastern side. Because of these mountains, rain from the northeast monsoon is generally cut off thus causing a very long dry season in the area such as found in the Ilocos provinces and in Zambales in Luzon. Sugar cane and copra are raised for export while rice, corn, and beans for local consumption. Forest products like gums, resin, wax, and so forth, abound in the interior hills.

Protecting the coastal regions of Antique from the fury of the southwest monsoon are the islands of Batbatan, Maralison, and Nogas. The passage lying between these islands and the coast of Antique is clear and free of coral reefs. This favors the coastwise trade which is actively carried by small steamers and sailboats plying between San Jose and Iloilo. Salt making and fishing are the most important industries along the coast.

*The people.*—In general, the Antiqueños live in nucleated settlements situated near national highways or main inland trails. Of course there are big towns where the situation is reversed; however, this is not the concern of the present study. This inquiry is concerned with the interior settlement-life. These settlements are called barrios and average from about ten to fifteen one-family dwellings.

The standard Antiqueño house is made of bamboo, with either nipa or cogon grass thatch roofs. Both men and women work together in the fields during planting and harvesting seasons. Between seasons, the women weave mats, hats, baskets while the men either gather firewood, wax, gums, attend to their carabaos, do backyard gardening or fish in the river. Almost every family raise chickens, goats, pigs, and other domestic animals. Voluntary reciprocal group service, the *dagyaw*, is practiced. Whenever a farmer wants to clean his fields, builds a house or hauls his

products, he asks his neighbors to help him. The services rendered are without pay—the farmer needs only to return these favors with his services whenever anyone of these who help him needs a hand in the future.

Social organization in the local Antiqueño community is based upon kinship which is bilaterally structured and generationally stratified. The basic unit of kinship system is the nuclear family, instituted by marriage, consisting of the father, the mother, and their unmarried child or children. Relationship is reckoned by the child to include all consanguineal kin of both the father and the mother. There is no unilinear emphasis, although the child acquires the father's family name and not the mother's. Political authority in the barrio is vested upon the barrio *tininti*<sup>2</sup> (lieutenant), however, the relative age and personal abilities of older man, particularly the *surhano* or "herb-medicine man" still welds powerful influence over all community decision-making. Recently, a barrio council has been organized to help the barrio *tininti*.

Most Antiqueños are monolingual. They speak the dialect called by them *Kiniray'a* and which the *Hiligaynon*-speaking groups often refer to as *Hiniray'a*. The Antiqueño dialect is genetically related to the *Kiniray'a* dialect spoken in the interior towns of Iloilo and Capiz, and very similar to such major Philippine languages as *Hiligaynon* and *Tagalog*. English has become the second language of the educated adults and school children. In fact, the writer found it more convenient to use English when working with high-school or college-educated informants.

The history of Antique has not yet been comprehensively written. Oral tradition however states that a number of settlements in the area were established by "the ten Bornean datus who were said to have first settled in Malandog." About the end of the 16th century, the Spaniards penetrated into Antique and established the region as a separate politico-military unit in 1790. Prior to this period, however, the Augustinian friars had already conducted there are several religious sects carrying on proselytizing work a vigorous campaign to Christianize the "pagan" Bisayans. Today among the people of Antique—the two prominent groups being the Roman Catholic Church and the American Baptist Foreign Mission Society.

Despite great strides in modern education, the people in general are still closely attached to native customs, traditions, beliefs

<sup>2</sup> Now called barrio captain.

and ceremonies. The academic and technical know-how acquired in schools are apparently reshaped to suit local ways of doing, believing, and thinking. Three *herbolarios* (herb medicine men) informants of ours in 1959 had high school education and were using a worn pamphlet on medicinal plants printed in Hiligaynon. Another very religious host in Sibalom in 1958 used the Cross and Holy Water acquired from a nearby Roman Catholic Church as a ritual paraphernalia in planting rice. The parents still participate in the selection of their son's wife or daughter's husband; and the bride-service (*panghagad*) is the standard prerequisite for marriage. In practically every undertaking the people attempt, be it building a house, planting the rice field, hunting or fishing, the community medium (*baylan*) or any old man versed in dream-interpretation (*panimad on*) has to be consulted for good luck.

### *The Data*

The Antiqueño, especially the old folks, are generally good story-tellers. They always have different sets of stories for different kinds of community gatherings or social affairs. The stories recorded below pertain to the naming of places where some of these people live. All of these legends were narrated in *Kiniray'a* by Christian informants and not one of them was a professional story-teller. Their ages ranged from fifteen to fifty-six. The stories are arranged according to the following order: legends with plants, animals, and fish as principal characters; legends involving the lives of legendary heroes and founding fathers; and legends bearing deep imprints of Spanish or recent Christian influence.

#### I. Plants, Animals, and Fish

1. *Cabriwan*.—The barrio of Cabriwan lies in the middle of rich, fertile valley, several kilometers outside the town of Sibalom. It is said that long time ago, in the place where the barrio proper now stands, there was a big lake. Into this lake empties a brook, at the mouth of which grew grooves of thick-foilage *baliw* palms. Surrounding this inland water was a deep forest.

The people living in the lower valley used to go up the outlet and fish in the lake. Soon they found out that the *baliw* palms could be pounded into fine strips which they could weave into cloth and make barrel-skirts and clouts.

One day a couple, who became tired of going up and down the stream, decided to move near the lake and live there. This

way they could gather as many palms as they wished without wasting efforts. They built a hut near the bank of the lake and started farming the fertile land in the vicinity. It was not long before the couple became rich.

Seeing the couple prosper other people came to live near the lake. Soon there were many of them. When there was no more land to cultivate, the people decided to convert the lake into rice fields. They widened the outlet and drained the water out. They cut all the *baliw* palms and built dikes. Because of the difficulty which the people encountered when they cleared the area of *baliw* palms, they called the place Cabriwan, meaning "the place of *baliw* palms."

2. *Dao*.—Once upon a time, the place where the town of Dao now stands uninhabited. Many large trees grew in the area. Wild animals roamed freely in the forest. The fields that once lie outside the town were covered with thickets.

The early inhabitants of the place depended largely on hunting and fishing for their livelihood. One day, some men went hunting in the nearby mountains. In the course of the hunt, they were led farther into the deepest part of the jungle. There they saw an unusually tall tree in the middle of the lush valley. Upon closer examination, one of the men said the tree was called *dao*.

The valley proved to be a good hunting ground. Wild games abounded in the vicinity. Everyday, the man hunted in the area and they always had a good catch. They merely followed the direction of the tree and they safely found their way out, even if they penetrated the deepest part of the forest.

Because of this, the people decided to name the place *dao*, meaning the "place of the tall trees." Soon more venturesome families settled in the area. Gradually the settlement prospered. More men came to live in the valley. A barrio was formed and later a town. The place still retains its "old name"—*Dao*.

3. *Magcalon*.—Many, many years ago, the barrio of Magcalon had no name. It was only a small place. The people were said to be dependent on hunting and fishing for their livelihood. An unexpected turn of events in the life of these hardy folks caused the village to be so named as it is now.

One afternoon, rain was very heavy. It continued until night-time. Later in the middle of the night, the people were awakened

by the sound of thunder and felt the tremors of an earthquake. They did not rush out of their homes but instead they lock themselves in. The following morning, a group of hunters found a huge snake encircling the hills outside of the valley. It had wound itself so tight that the mound became higher and narrower. In fear, the hunters returned home.

No sooner had they reached the fields near their homes when they saw a group of panicky strangers running toward them. They were shouting to the top of their voices: "*Magcal, man-og nga magcal.*" When the hunters ran back to help the frightened men, they saw a big snake munching the limbs of a child. Further on the ground, two persons laid prostrate. Because of this incident, the place was called *Magcalon*, meaning the "place where the *magcal* swallowed three persons."

4. *Lugutan*.—In the town of San Jose, there is a barrio named *Lugutan*. The people who first inhabited this barrio were said to be tall and husky. One day, a very large snake known as *magcal* (probably the one mentioned in the other legend) crawled into the place. When the people saw the reptile they came out from their houses and kept themselves on guard. The men armed themselves with bolos and canes. When the *magcal* reached the center of the settlement, it stopped. The people, thinking that it would harm them if it should be allowed to stay overnight, decided to kill the snake. So they attacked the reptile. The *magcal* was enraged and it retaliated with ferocity, lashing the people with its tail. Many of the men were killed. The wounded survivors fled.

Upon seeing no one, the snake crawled out of the settlement, still panting with rage. When it reached a hill just at the outskirts of the village, it furiously wound itself around the mound. Later, tired of waiting for the people to come out of their homes, it slowly crawled away, leaving visible the imprints of its rage on the hillside. Because of this, the people called the barrio "*lugutan*, meaning "the place where the snake left a neck-like imprint of its body."

5. *Sibalom, Bari and Sulong*.—Long ago, the mouth of *Sibalom* river was located near the barrio of *Malandog*, in the town of San Jose. The water in the river passed through the place where the town of *Sibalom* now stands. It was said that the plaza of *Sibalom* was once a river bed and that the hills of *Bari* and *Sulong* were connected. These hills turned the course of the river toward

Malandog. Sibalom river passed through the town proper and out into the plains.

One day the people living on top of the hill had a grand feast. People from the neighboring villages were invited to attend the festival. In the midst of the festivity a terrible storm came. Heavy rain fell and strong winds blew. The river overflowed its bank until water reached the foot of the hills where the current dashed against the sides.

At the foot of the hill there lived a *salima-o*, a kind of animal which bored holes as its shelter. The water dashing against the site found its way into one of the holes, making this tunnel deeper and bigger. The water continued to hit the interior of the tunnel until the hole caved-in and caused a change in the profile of the ridge. When this happened, the people were frightened. They ran out of their houses, saying "*Ang bacolod ginasiba' sa idalom*," meaning, the hill is being eaten from below. It was believed that the flood was caused by the angered spirits of the fields, the keeper of the *salima-o*, which the people did not invoke during the festival ceremony for the spirits.

Gradually, the hole under the hill became bigger and deeper until finally the top ridge gave in, cutting the hill into two and carrying with it the houses of the people. The survivors later called the place *sibalom*, meaning, eaten from below. They called the other end of the hill *bari*, or broken; while the other half *sulong*, meaning the mound which held the current. At present the hills are still called by these old names, and so is the town of Sibalom.

6. *Capahian*.—The barrio of Capahian stands at the foot of Mount Montagawi, facing the rich plains of Sibalom.

In the early days of frontier-pushing men, groups of families came to settle in this area which was then a forest. Working on virgin land, the settlers prospered soon after they had arrived. Many other men joined this first group. With the steady increase of settlers more clearings were made. One day, a calamity befell this progressive settlement. Drought swept over the land. For months and months rain did not come. Famine soon crept into the area and many died of starvation.

Forced by hunger, a couple went deeper into the forest to look for rattan shoots. On their way, they passed a clear-water brook. The woman went down to the water-bed to drink, and when



she stooped for a swallow, her hand brushed aside a big stone. The stone rolled and beneath it the woman saw a large *pahi*, a kind of fresh-water lobster. She called her husband and they both began turning the stones and caught the lobsters hiding under them.

When the other villagers saw the couple's catch that day, they all rushed to this mountain stream. The supply of *pahi* seemed unexhaustible. In memory of these fresh-water crustaceans, which abounded in the place and which saved the people from starving, the village folks called the place *capahian*, "the place where *pahi* abound."

### *Interpretation*

In this first set of legends we have plants, animals, and fish as principal themes. In the first legend, it has been shown that the name of barrio Cabriwan was derived from the word *baliw*, a kind of palm which was found to be good material for weaving cloth and which abound in the area. In the other story, the name of the barrio was derived from a tall tree, called *dao*, which the hunters found to be a convenient guidepost in finding their way in and out of the forest. If, as J. L. Fischer (1963: 273) has pointed out, "the series of dramatic images evoked by a folktale may be regarded as consisting of symbolic reference to features of the psychological structure and the social structure of their community," then it is understandable why the people named their home-place after these plants when the frontier area became a settlement. In the main, the *baliw* palm was good source of materials for clothing. Sociologically, it satisfied certain needs of the people. It is, therefore, logical that the name of the place where these plants were found plentiful should be remembered. This close association of the plant with the life of the people established certain sentiments of attachments. Remembering the name of the plants crystalizes the image of the place where these are found, and when a need for raw materials for clothing arises, the place where these abound is sought. In this way, the place and the plant became associated. When the plants died, the place remained. And because the place was well-known for this particular product, the sentiment of attachment to an object which satisfied human needs became an expressed point of reference for identifying the community.

In the second legend, it must be noted that it was the hunters who called the place *dao* after the tree bearing the same name.

The meaning of this legend need not be elaborated in detail, except to state that the tree, with its remarkable features, served as "a guidepost" for the hunters, in the manner a compass guides a pilot, or the stars, a lost sailor. Anyone familiar with forests, or who had gone deep into the woodland would understand why the *dao* tree was important to the hunters. Without this marker, the hunters would have difficulty coming in and going out of the forest. Here again we see that the plant enters into the life of the people as a means of satisfying certain needs. As long as the tree was there, the hunters felt safe even when trudging the deepest part of the thickets. At least, this was true when we traveled with the Sulod, a group of mountain people in central Panay, into the heart of the jungles. We always found our way out by merely taking note of the trees which the Sulod recognized as markers of the direction we were heading. This was possibly what happened among the Dao hunters. The fear of getting lost was allayed by the presence of a guidepost; confidence established, and success in hunting insured. Because of the importance of this tree in the process of satisfying certain economic pursuits of the people, the place was readily identified with it and later on so named. Present-day experience will bear this out. Ask anyone of any nameless place and the first answer you will likely receive is a spontaneous reference to some conspicuous marks like a tall tree, a building, or anything which easily catches attention. The psychological principle of association was in application during the period when the legend was probably first told.

The legends of Magcalon, Lugutan, Sibalom and Capahian have animals as principal characters—hence, these will be treated as a group. The meaning of these legends may be understood by answering these questions. Why should the people name their localities after snakes and lobsters? And why should the naming be in the form of a legend? Again, we will quote J. L. Fischer's second point in his position regarding the function of folktales (1963:273) "folktales may aid emotional adjustment both by providing catharsis and wish fulfillment, but the process varies in different kinds of tales." Returning to the first legend with a snake motif. It need not be emphasized that snakes are animals which many people fear. The people in Magcalon today are afraid of snakes and those who are not, do not tolerate the presence of the animal in the vicinity. In other words, snakes are often the object of either fear or hate or both. This legend, as seen within this context, was presented not merely as a tale, but as a psychological outlet through

which such drives as fear and hate could be released. The legend has also a sanctioning function. A disobedient child in Magcalon today can be made to obey by telling him that if he does not come up the house early in the evening the "*magcal* will come and eat you." How would one make this real to a child who have not seen the snake? A story is the only logical answer. In this way the legend becomes associated with the behavior pattern of the child. He grows up, marries, and tells the same story to his own child. This repetition canalizes the legend into a universally accepted culture pattern, and here it becomes part of the attitudes of the people. It aids the emotional adjustment of the disciplining parent in that his order was followed by the telling of the story without having to lay a hand on the child, and the child, because he now understood why he should not be out playing under the house when it started to become dark.

In the simple life of the rural folks of Antique, the foodquest still occupies a predominant position in the community social life. When there is food the people are happy and when it is scarce everyone suffers. This condition could possibly be true in the past. In one legend, particular attention was focused on the discovery of the lobster (*pahi*) in the brook. Since the *pahi* was found to be edible, the same value attached to other kind of food was attached to it. As long as there was plenty of *pahi* in the vicinity, the people were supplied with enough protein-food, but when these crustaceans were exhausted, the people suffered from lack of them. The remembering of the good-old days is present, even today. Everytime a crisis is felt in the barrio, the old folks sighed "it was never like the good old days." It is within this framework that the association of the *pahi* with the value system of the people had been established. The legend therefore is told today not as a vain musing of the people's imaginings but as a charter of sentiments (Malinowski 1948) which embodies the social value attached to the major source of food—the *pahi*. Hence the naming of the place where the "*pahi* were once plentiful."

## II. Heroes and Founding Fathers

1. *Egaña*.—The barrio of Egaña was at one time a wilderness. Wild animals roamed in the forest. The entire area was unpassable because of the thickets. The people were afraid to go into the forest because they said, it was inhabited by strange, harmful, insect-spirits.

One day an intrepid hunter named Egan pursued a wild boar deep into the forest. In the middle of the wilderness, he saw a lush valley. He returned home and persuaded his wife to come with him and settle there.

Egan built a large house and cultivated the area around it. His wife, Enya, helped him plant the field. Their life in the new place was a successful one. The game in the forest supplied them with meat, and the produce of their field was more than enough for their daily needs.

When the people from the lowland heard about the couple's prosperous life in the mountains, they also went up to live in the new settlement. Soon there were many people who joined the venturesome couple. Egan was chosen by the people as their leader, and Enya was his assistant. When these pioneers died, the locality they founded was named after them.

2. *Igbalangao and Bulalakaw*.—Igbalangao is a barrio in Bugasong while Bulalakaw is a barrio in Sibalom. These two are situated far from each other but there is a story which connects them.

Many years ago the people lived in groups, each under a leader. Foremost among the Bugasong group was Balangao and the one from Sibalom was Bulalakaw. Both leaders boasted of their individual power and might. A bitter rivalry developed between them.

One day Balangao challenged Bulalakaw's group to a fight, which the latter gladly accepted. At the start both sides proved invincible. Balangao's followers were as skilled as Bulalakaw's men. In the thick of fight, one of Balangao's men was struck dead by a Bulalakaw fighter. Seeing the man fall, Balangao's men became demoralized and they were unable to put up an effective defense. Bulalakaw's men therefore took advantage of the situation. Seeing his men slaughtered, Balangao ordered a retreat.

The fight between the two leaders was a memorable one. In memory of Balangao, the people of Bugasong named their barrio *Igbalangao*. The place where one of Balangao's fighters was killed was called *Buntol*, meaning "fallen"; while the place where Bulalakaw's men proved victorious was named *Indagan*, meaning "victory".

3. *Gintuus*.—For many years there lived in barrio Malaiba a couple named Proylan and his wife Tasala. They had two children, Balading and Magsalaysay. Near the house of this couple live Rasul, Proylan's cousin.

One night Rasul suddenly died leaving his wife and children without any breadwinner. As a kind-hearted relative, Proylan pitied his cousin's widow and children, so he took them under his roof. As years passed, Proylan's wife got jealous because of her husband's deep concern about the welfare of his cousin's widow and children. Through fabricated stories, she was successful in persuading Proylan that they should transfer to another settlement, leaving the helpless widow and her children behind.

In the new settlement, Proylan started a new life. He cleared the area and planted the field. One day, however, a horrible storm came. It rained the whole night and the day following. In Proylan's field there was a huge tree with thick foliage which was left uncut. The wind uprooted this gigantic tree and it fell across a nearby brook, blocking the flow of the water. Proylan realized that should the tree be left unremoved, all of his plants would be destroyed by the water. So despite the storm he went down and began to hack at the fallen trunk.

The water became deeper and deeper. Proylan's wife called him to wait until the storm was over. However, the man insisted on finishing the job. Because of the heavy rain the water became higher and higher. Suddenly the trunk gave way and the water rushed downstream, carrying Proylan and his house nearby. The entire family was lost. Their bodies were never recovered. The people say that Proylan and his family were punished by the spirit of Rasul for having abandoned his helpless widow. Because of this incident, the place was called *Gintuus*, meaning "punished."

4. *Igdanlog and Har-asan*.—A long time ago, there lived by the hillside near the bank of Cabantahan river, just three kilometers from the town of Dao, a Negrito couple. This couple did not have permanent home. They moved from one place to another looking for food.

One morning, they decided to go down to the shore to fish. They were going down the hill when the woman, who was on the family way, felt her stomach become numb and painful. The man told his wife to rest, but the woman insisted that they continue on their way until they reached a nearby spring.

Finally, when they were nearing destination, the wife was unable to bear the pain in her stomach. She was forced to stop. Her husband held her as she tried to sit down. In so doing, she slipped and the impact of the fall made her deliver the child prematurely. The child died instantly. The place where the Negrito woman slipped was called *Igdanlog*, and the place where she delivered, *Har-asan*, meaning prematurely delivered.

5, *Hinumbaca't Daraga*.—On the boundary between Lawaan and Barbaza, facing the sea, is a hill called *Hinumbaca't Daraga*. It is about three kilometers from Lawaan and five kilometers from Barbaza.

According to the legend there once lived on this hill a beautiful maiden. Her only companion was a small dog. One morning she went to the spring to fetch water. While filling her bamboo tube, she heard her dogs barking. Thinking there was something wrong, she shouldered her half-filled tube and hurried home. In her haste, she slipped and fell. The tube was emptied of its content. When she stood up she heard someone talk to her. She turned and standing in front of her was a young man, a handsome stranger armed with a bow and arrow. He smiled at her and offered his help.

On her way home the stranger told her that he was the son of chief of a nearby island. This meeting was followed by others until one day the young man told the maiden of his love and asked her to be his wife. The maiden unhesitatingly accepted the young man and when the latter departed to talk to his parents, she promised to wait for him. Before leaving, the young man told the maiden that she would know of his arrival by the sails of an incoming boat. Should the sail be white it would mean that he had come back, however, should the sail be black, it would mean that something unfortunate had befallen him.

For days and months the maiden watched. At night she would stay up late beside the shore. However, no boat came.

Then one morning while she was gazing out of the window of her little home, she saw a boat on the horizon. Nearer and nearer it came. But when it came ashore, she saw that it has a black sail. At once she knew that something had befallen her lover. Losing all hope and feeling that life would be useless without her loved one, the poor maiden ran to a nearby cliff and threw herself down among the rocks. Since then the place was called *hinumbaca't daraga*, meaning "the place where the maiden jumped."

6. *Anini and Nogas*.—There was once upon a time a datu named Oyong. This chieftain had a beautiful daughter, *Anini*. Because of her beauty, Anini had many suitors but among these aspirants, she loved Nogas best.

When Anini and Nogas approached the chieftain about their plans, Oyong strongly objected to the marriage. However, Nogas was so persistent and the datu decided to test him. Oyong told Nogas to make an island in front of their home before he would permit Anini to marry him. Worried, Nogas went to the seashore and pondered over his problem. He prayed to Kaptan to help him. While he was thus absorbed in his thoughts, he suddenly heard a splash in the water. Instantly, he saw a sea-spirit appear. The sea-spirit asked Nogas what his troubles were and when told she promised to help the latter. A condition, however, was set: that the sea-spirit would be invited to the wedding feast.

Nogas felt so happy when he heard this and he promised to invite the sea-spirit to his wedding. Returning, he told Datu Oyong to prepare the wedding for he would make an island.

The people were surprised the following morning when they saw an island near the shore. The wedding plans were therefore made and the ceremony took place in the new island. Nogas was so busy with the marriage preparations that he forgot to invite the sea-spirit. The spirit was angered.

After the wedding Nogas and his newly-wedded wife decided to return to Anini's place. While they were sailing across the passage, a big wave suddenly arose and capsized the boat in which the couple was riding. No trace of them was found. In memory of the two, the people called the island Nogas and Anini.

7. *Gintangisan*.—In the little barrio of Mapatag lies a small valley known as Gintangisan. How this place came to be called this name is told in the following story.

Once there lived in this valley a poor couple. They had no son or daughter and their only means of livelihood was fishing. The husband spent most of his time fishing.

One day the man went out fishing. But this time when he cast his net it was empty. He cast it a second time, third, and fourth times until he got tired but he could not catch any fish. It was almost noon when he retired to a big stone located near a huge tree by the seashore. Here he rested and after a short

moment he fell asleep. His dog, seeing him asleep, went home alone.

When the man failed to return home that day, his wife went to the barrio to look for him. But she could not find her husband. Finally she asked the dog to point out where its master was, and the poor creature seeming to understand led the woman to the stone where its master had fallen asleep. But the man was not there; he had disappeared.

Realizing that her search was fruitless, the wife went home crying and wailing on the way. For days she moaned and wailed but her husband never returned. She died mourning and weeping. From that time on the valley had been called "*gintangisan*" meaning "place where the woman cried over."

8. *Tangdai*.—A long time ago, in the northern part of Hamtik, there lived a beautiful girl named Daingay. She was not only pretty but she was as gentle as the evening breeze, very kind and very generous. When she reached maidenhood, suitors from all over the land paid her court. But Daingay's parents always interfered with her love affairs and she remained unmarried and miserable.

One day while Daingay was picking roots of wild grass in the fields for an evening ritual, a handsome young man passed by. The stranger was struck by the charm of Daingay and he smiled at her. The maiden was too inexperienced and shy to respond; but her heart began to throb with joy. When she arrived home, her mother demanded to know why she was so changed and happy. However, she only gave an evasive reply.

When the news about his love affair reached Daingay's father he was very angry. He demanded the man's name and when told that the young man was Tangaraw, son of the chieftain in the nearby village, he objected vehemently. He told Daingay to stop seeing Tangaraw. Although Daingay liked and loved Tangaraw, she promised her father, as an obedient child, that she would stop seeing the man.

The news of the father's anger reached the young Tangaraw. He sent a message to Daingay to meet him at a certain place; he proposed that they elope.

The scheduled day came and Daingay secretly left the house and joined the waiting Tangaraw. While they were in the boat,



rowing away, Daingay's other suitor, the man whom the maiden's father favored, saw the eloping pair. He immediately reported the incident to the old man. The enraged chieftain called his men and gave the couple a chase. Arriving at the bank of the river, he ordered his men to shoot the two. A fatal arrow hit Daingay on the breast and when Tangaraw saw this he embraced his beloved only to be pierced by another arrow in a fatal spot on his back.

The lovers cried in agony. Daingay called upon the gods of her ancestors to help them. Suddenly, the skies darkened and a heavy rain fell. The river overflowed its bank, and a horrible landslide followed. The people said that the old man's cruelty angered the gods of Madyaas and, as punishment, the whole village was flooded.

And when the water subsided, the villagers were surprised to see that on the spot where the lovers died there appeared a hill. In memory of the two faithful lovers the barrio folks called the place *tangdai*—meaning, the "faithful lovers."

9. *Hamtik*.—After the Bornean datu acquired Panay from the *Ati*, Datu Sumakwel decided to explore the southern part of the island. Among those who went with him were Datu Paiburong, Datu Bangcaya, and Datu Balkasusa. It was noontime when they reached Antique. So they rested. Datu Paiburong walked around the vicinity and in so doing he accidentally stepped on a mound of earth in which lived a colony of ants. The ants bit him on the legs and Datu Paiburong jumped and shouted because of the pain. As he did so his head struck the beehive hanging on a branch of the tree above him. The bees swarmed around him and bit his ears. Datu Paiburong did not know the name of these two insects—the ants and the bees—and when asked by his companions what insects bit him he said: "By these which 'hum' and the other which cry 'tik'." Because of the other datu found a number of these insects in the area, they decided to call the place "Hamtik", meaning the place of the "hum and the tik."

10. *Lumpatan*.—One day, Datu Sumakwel, together with his dogs, went to Malabnog mountain to hunt. The way was not easy. He had to push through the thick bushes and wild vines that crossed his path. While he was thus continuing his way, he heard a rustle behind him. Turning, he saw a deer. He called his dogs and chased the animal. When the deer was about to be caught it jumped over a deep raven. Datu Sumakwel followed. But alas! he fell and his head hit a big stone in the middle of the

the river. The other hunters who chanced to pass nearby ran to see what happened when they heard his cry. They saw nothing but a big stone smeared with blood. Calling their companions, the hunters shouted: "May naglumpat," meaning, somebody had jumped. All the men gathered and watched the stream wash over the gory stone. Two days later, when they returned, they saw imprinted on the stone marks of two human feet. Because of this, they called the place *lumpatan*, meaning place where someone had jumped.

11. *Alayon*.—Alayon is a barrio adjacent to Malandog. Its legend goes back to the time of the landing of the datos on the island of Panay.

One day Datu Sumakwel, who had settled in Malandog decided to make the rounds of his lands. He was accompanied by his beautiful wife, Alayon, who wanted to go with him and see the beauties of nature. After a long walk, Alayon became thirsty. But there was no spring or well around. Datu Sumakwel, who was said to have extraordinary powers, got his cane and struck it into the ground. When he pulled it out, a gush of water came and Alayon quenched her thirst. In memory of this unbelievable act, the place was called "Alayon."

12. *Ginubatan*.—There lived at the foot of the mountains, five kilometers away from Patnongon, a farmer named Jose. Jose married a fair woman named Petra, and they had a lovely daughter; Juana. The child was very industrious. Every morning she would fetch water from a nearby spring. Sometimes she would linger near the forest, listening to the murmurs of the trees and songs of the birds.

Juana grew up to be a beautiful maiden. One day she went to fetch water. On the way she was stopped by a bearded, fierce-looking man who told her: "I am the chief of the mountains who gave your family all the things you needed. However, your father had never offered anything in return. Now I shall demand my share. I will take you." Then the man disappeared.

Juana was so frightened. She ran home to tell her father about the incident, but Jose did not believe what his daughter told him. Night came. Suddenly a group of huge monkeys came and attacked the house. These creatures killed Jose when he tried to fight back and took Juana away. Only Petra, the mother, survived to tell the story. That's how Ginubatan got its present name. It is derived from the word *gubat*, meaning "attacked."

*Interpretation*

In this second set of legends we are concerned with stories about the deeds and labors of the founding fathers. The first story relates the perseverance and bravery of the venturesome couple who opened an area to settlement. These pioneers dared where others feared. It need not be discussed at length, therefore, why the place was named after the first two settlers, Egan and his wife, Enya. It must be stated, nevertheless, that the place was named Egaña in memory of the founding couple whom the people loved. Igbalangao and Bulalakaw were two legendary heroes who fought in the area where the barrios named after them now stand. The meaning of these legends are easily understood when one views them from the standpoint of the impression which they have upon the minds of the younger folks, whenever the older ones wanted to emphasize local virtues, such as patience and bravery. The constant repetition of these stories formed in the children the passion for nobler deeds; a stamina necessary to keep the spirit of an individual intact in moments of life's crises. In short, these legends are told to uphold the social values of the group.

*Hinumbaca't daraga* tells of the fate of the forlorn maiden who killed herself when her lover did not come back. Because of this incident, the people named the odd-looking cliff which faces the sea *hinumbaca't daraga*, meaning the cliff where the maiden jumped to death. In the story of Anini-i and Nogas, it is learned that the calamity befell the couple while on their way to their honeymoon because Nogas did not fulfill his promise to the sea-spirit who helped him. The same kind of sad incident penetrates the theme of Gintangisan and Tangdai. These legends, should one endeavor to fit them into the pattern of the people's lifeways, serve as media through which education may be passed on to the younger folks. *Hinumbaca't daraga* is certainly not a mere tale of amusement. It is, in its fullest implication, a means by which the old folks warned the young men that love should be taken seriously, the death of the heroine being an affirmation of the local concept of sincerity and loyalty. Why should the sad incident occur to Anini-i and Nogas? Here is a clear-cut illustration of what would happen when one did not fulfill his promise. Noga's fate therefore codifies local morality and enhances the local social order, for an infraction of the standard rule of social behavior (as in fulfilling promises) would lead one to suffer the

same fate as Nogas. In this way, local discipline is imposed and interpersonal relationship controlled.

The stories about Hamtik, Lumpatan, and Alayon have folk historical basis. The persons involved in these legends were important personages in the *Maragtas*, a document purportedly to be pre-Spanish in origin. Datu Sumakwel was believed to be one of the original ten datos who came to settle in Panay. Alayon was Sumakwel's wife. These couples established their settlement in Malandog, a town in Antique. These legends need no further explanation. These simply show that people are always conscious of their folk-history, and the naming of places certainly could have been prompted by no other motive than the veneration of folk heroes, the way streets, bridges, and towns in many of Philippine places are named after present-day national heroes.

The last story in the set of legends tells how unusual incidents influenced the people into calling the places where these occurred. Ginubatan in the *Kiniray-a* dialect means "attacked." Jose's household was attacked by huge monkeys who killed him and carried away his lovely daughter, Juana. But this incident was forewarned, through Juana, by a strange-looking and bearded man who presented himself as lord of the mountains and who said he would take Juana in exchange for the favors he gave Jose's family.

A closer inspection makes the meaning of this legend clear. In the first place, only the mother survived to tell the story of what happened. Whether or not the abduction of the daughter was really committed by supernatural beings in the form of monkeys is irrelevant. It must be pointed out that the local concept of "self-esteem" or "huya" is very pronounced in the rural areas of Antique. One would rather die than being "shamed" or "mahuy-an". Within the family group, the "huya" of one is the "huya" of his entire family and kin group. As much as possible every means of covering this social stigma has to be done whenever unavoidable circumstances befall any member of the family.

Viewing the legend from this standpoint, therefore, an observer clearly sees that the legend was woven in order to cover the shameful fate of the beautiful Juana who was abducted by "the bearded, fierce-looking man." Abduction is an act not socially accepted in the rural areas of Antique, even up to this time. The barrio, in this province, is a place where one cannot hide secrets, much less when the incidents involve an anti-social act. So it is but logically possible for Petra, the mother, in order to

save the face of her family and kin group, to concoct a story about the attacking supernatural beings who took Juana and killed Jose. Because of this unusual incident, the people named the place "Ginubatan," thus the social stigma was redirected towards the place and the supernatural beings not towards Petra's family, which, without this culturally accepted legend, would have otherwise suffered from it.

### III. *Legends with Spanish and American Overlays*

1. *Calag-itan*.—Old folks tell us this tale of how Calag-itan got its name.

When the Spaniards first set foot on the island of Panay, there lived in the place where the municipality on San Remigio now stands a very wealthy man called Itan. He owned a large house and had many house helps, a large tract of land, and other property. In spite of his wealth Itan was a miser. He would not spare anyone anything.

One day Itan was suddenly stricken ill. He died the day following the attack. The servants were all happy, and so were the people in the village. However, they were surprised when they opened the treasure trunk that it was empty. They found no gems, instead a huge man was lying inside. The people were so frightened that they ran away.

They had not gone very far when they met some Spanish soldiers. Those soldiers asked them, in Spanish, the name of the place. The people, thinking that the soldiers were asking them what they were running away from, answered: "*Kalag ni Itan! Kalag ni Itan!*"—meaning, "from the ghost of Itan! the ghost of Itan!" The soldiers adapted the phrase and called the place "*Kalag-itan*."

2. *San Juan*.—San Juan is a spring in the outskirts of Malaiba. The water of this spring seemed to flow up the mountainside instead of directly down to the sea. This is the story how this spring came about.

In the early days of the Spanish regime, a group of soldiers were sent to explore the province of Antique. After several weeks of traveling over the rugged terrain, these soldiers became exhausted. They ran out of their water supply. When they were about to give up hope of finding their way back to the lowland or of ever getting water, they came upon an old man. The exhausted soldiers begged the old man to help them.

The aged stranger led the soldiers to the foot of the hill. When the Spaniards saw that the hillside was rugged and stony, they complained. They threatened to kill the old man for having fooled them.

"There is water here," the old man said with authority. And no sooner had he uttered the words, when a stream of crystal-clear water spouted out of the ground. The exhausted soldiers all rushed to drink. And when they were filled, they turned to thank the old man. However, the stranger was gone. Because of this incident which occurred during the feast of San Juan, they called the place "the spring of San Juan." It was said that the old man was San Juan himself who came to save the dying soldiers. Much later, people came to live near this spring. They called their barrio San Juan, after the spring.

3. *San Jose de Buenavista*.—Before the Spaniards came to Antique the entire province was already inhabited. The early settlers established themselves in Malandog and made Hamtik their capital. However, the Spaniards transferred the capital site to a new place, San Juan de Buenavista. Here are two incidents which the people tell why the new site was called San Jose de Buenavista.

After the Spaniards had established themselves in Antique, an earthquake occurred. It shook the entire region violently, so that every church tower toppled down. Soon mighty waves were rushing toward the shore. The people in their panic cried for help. They implored their patron saint, San Jose. As the waves were nearing the shore, a strange-looking, bearded, old man appeared and stood at the beach. The huge rolls of waves suddenly broke and the turbulent sea calmed down. The people were greatly moved. After the incident the old man disappeared.

Much later, another incident occurred in this small coastal town. A group of Muslim pirates arrived to plunder the community. Again the same bearded, old man appeared and drove the Muslim pirates away. The local priest said that the old man was San Jose. So in memory of the strange-looking, bearded, old man who saved the people, the place was named San Jose de Buenavista—meaning, "a good view of Saint Joseph."

4. *Bugasong*.—Bugasong is one of the towns of Antique situated along the coast. Many years ago this town had no name.

One day, two Spanish merchants visited the town. Heavily loaded with goods for sale, they arrived in this new place, tired and apparently lost. So they tried to question the people living along the trail. The couple from whom they inquired about the name of the place were pounding rice. Thinking that the strangers were asking what they were pounding inside the mortar, they answered: "*Ang bugas sa lusong*," meaning "rice inside the mortar." The Spanish merchants thought that was the name of place. So from that time on the place was called *Bugasong*.

5. *Sinaksakan*.—During the first American occupation in the Philippines, the town of Valderama was always attacked by the men of the famous Panay bandit leader, Oto. Then, there was no barrio in that town with the name *Sinaksakan*. Here is the story how this name was attributed to the place.

One night when rumors were heard about the impending attack of the outlaws, the people prepared themselves. They guarded the entrance of the town. When the renegades finally came, they were met by the people with equal strength and preparation. There was a fight and many outlaws were killed. The rest fled to the mountains. For revenge they caught all the people outside of the town, and brought them to a certain place. Upon reaching the place, the people were hacked to death. Because of this incident, the people named the barrio *Sinaksakan*, meaning "hacked to death."

#### *Interpretation*

The stories of Calagitan and Bugasong are self-explanatory and need no further interpretation. Linguistic deficiency certainly affects man's mental attitudes and social behavior. The Spaniards were deficient in native dialects, hence the places were named in accordance with Spanish interpretations and pronunciation of words and statements of the local residents. The same incident brought about the naming of Bugasong.

The legends of San Juan and San Jose de Buenavista reflect clearly how foreign influences are adapted and reshaped to local patterns of doing, thinking, and believing. San Juan and San Jose are Catholic Saints of note. Catholicism was introduced in the Philippines by the Spaniards. However, this has apparently ceased to be a purely religious doctrine but has become an embracive way-of-life built around a series of observance encompassing all the major life-crises through which an average Filipino passes.

The appearance of San Juan and San Jose de Buenavista, in the last two legends, who saved the people from danger, certainly justifies the above-stated recasting or reshaping of western religious doctrines to suit the local needs. The story of Sinaksakan functions as a historical document which records the activities of the outlaws in the area.

### *Conclusion*

Throughout this paper, the writer has endeavored to show how legends function as a cultural force welding together historical tradition, local beliefs and practices, moral principles, and other sets of customs. Here, he wishes to conclude his attempt at interpreting the sociological meaning of Antique place-name legends by pointing out that legends have far greater significance than most people suppose these narratives have by merely studying the printed text. In the words of an eminent anthropologist, A. R. Radcliffe-Brown:

legends as a whole give impression to the social value of the past, of all that is derived from tradition, whether it be the knowledge by which men win their sustenance, or the custom that they observe. In a wonderful times of the ancestors all things were ordered, all necessary knowledge was acquired, and the rules that must guide conduct were discovered. It remains for the individual of the present only to observe the customs with which his elders are familiar (148:330).

Viewed from this standpoint, legends are seen to be an indispensable part of culture which man uses to justify and validate the social order of his society and to explain his environment, long before any systematic knowledge of natural laws came to be accepted as the criterion for what constitutes scientific explanations of natural phenomena. Legends likewise embody the main events of folk-history. Psychologically, it is through these narratives that the people (in the communities where these legends are found) define their world, interpret their experience, guide their actions and make their judgments. In other words, legends strengthen tradition by providing it with a moral force capable of influencing individual actions in the direction required to maintain order and cohesion in the community.

Finally, the writer upholds that, studied from this standpoint, legends hold the key to deeper insights of the details of Filipino culture.



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